Approved For Release 2002/10/30 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000900030019-2

Varia.

rk 1,0 - 4 4 74

Honorable Barry Goldwater United States Senate Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Goldwater:

I read in the Congressional Record the statements which you delivered on the floor of the Senate on 26 May and again on I June regarding the U-2 incident and the summit collapse.

Your kind remarks regarding this Agency's work have been greatly appreciated by all of us.

Since rely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

OGC/LC/GC:jmd l Jun 60

Rewritten: DCI/AWD:blp 6 Jun 60

Distribution:

Original & 1- Addressee

1 - DCI

1 - DDCI

1 - IG

1 - ER

2 - Legislative Counsel

Approved For Re(2) 10/30 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000900030019-2

CONGRESSION, OF EMPORE - SEX

the cost is algher than our present level that the order folks do not get even as some hoped it we have and health for our children. They do not be the look had look had a look the and health for our children, digand beauty in our civic lives, and secarry and well-being in the world at large are more important than the "things" which might otherwise have priority.

But still more important is America's need to face squarely the facts about its situation. If freedom is really the organizing principle of our society, then we cannot forget that it is not illusion, propaganda and addatives, but truth, and truth alone, that makes us

Under the influence of the politics of sedation and the techniques of salesmanship, I believe that in recent years self-deceit has sickened our grip on reality. We have cept the easy half-truth. Perhaps it is always that way. As the old humorist losh Billings used to say:
"As scarce as truth is, the supply has al-

ways been in excess of the deniand.

KNTAILS HARD CHOICES

But we know from our own lives that reality entails hard choices and disappoint-ments: that it measures real achievement not in terms of luck but in terms of difficulties overcome. I don't believe our national life can' follow any other pattern. No preordained destiny decrees that Amer-

ica shall have all the breaks and soft options. Neither greatness nor even freedom lies that way. So we must surely return to the reality principle, to the bracing, invigorating, up-land climate of truth itself. I think we land climate or truth itself. I think we are ready now to move forward into the rigors and glories of the new decade with open eyes, eager step and firm purposes worthy of our great past.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR OF THIS ARTECLE

Adial Ewing Stevenson, Democrat, 1914 Adda Ewing Stevenson, Lempiral, Was twice a candidate for the Presidency, Sp-posing Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican, Mr. Stevenson was horn in Los Angales

Mr. Stevenson was horn in Lox Angeles in 1900. He received his bachelors degree from Princeton in 1922 and his law degree from Northwestern University in 1824. After practising law in Chicago, he was sasistant to the Secretary of the Ray from 1941 to 1944, assistant in the Secretary of State in 1945, and U.S. delegate to the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 and 1947. He served as Governor of Illinois from 1949 to 1953.

1949 to 1953. Mr. Stevenson is now practicing law in Chicago. He is trustee or director of various educational and philanthropic organizations. He is the author of "Call to Greatness," paib-lished in 1954, and "What I Think," 1956.

CONSCIENCE DEMANDS MEDICAL CARE FOR OUR SENIOR CITIZENS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I am sure that we do not think of ourselves as a Nation without a heart, or a Congress without a conscience. Still, in the minds of millions of older Americans, such as the woman who wrote a letter. which I now submit, this is what we have become. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that her letter be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

DEAR SENATOR PROXIME: I am writing to see it something can be done for the citizens who must rely on social security and old-age pensions for a living. I am very grateful, to a good President, Frankling Roseyest, who had heart smouth to think it that Decides. However, since that become

care they need because hospital and doctors' fees are so high, not to mention drugs.

I think it is wrong for a country like ours to forget their old people who have helped make America the great country that it is and I think they should have the comforts of life before we send money for other country's people.

ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this coming Saturday marks the independence day of Armenia. This is an anniversary of great patriotic significance to Armenian people throughout the world. but it unfortunately cannot be celebrated in the Armenian homeland as it will be observed by Armenian-Americans and Armenian peoples elsewhere in the world. The Armenian Republic was established and recognized by the United States in 1920. But it maintained itself as a sovereign nation for only a few months, before the armed might of Soviet Russia overwhelmed the nation and overthrew the independent Armenian Government. In the same year of 1920, the Soviet Union proclaimed the Soviet Republic of Armenia, and the homeland of the Armenians remains within the Soviet Union foday. In February of 1921, Armenian patriots fought a valuant and temporarily successful rebellion against the Soviets, but in a matter of menths, reinferced Russian troops again took over the nation.

In our own country, the Americans who comprise the Armenian community have a deep understanding and appreciation of the heritage of freedom and democracy which perhaps too many Americans sometimes take for granted. They or their descendants have fied their homeland to escape brutal hivaders or tyrannous dictators. Their contribution to our American political and stead tradition and to our general culture has been great. Their opposition to commu-nism has been monumental and soundly rooted. Armenian-Americans are anxtous now to see the reestablishment of an independent, democratic Armenia. It is appropriate that Americans therefore join with their fellow citizens of Armenian descent in recognizing the significance of this independence date, and in supporting their hopes for the reestablishment of a free, democratic Armenia_

Mr. KUCHEL Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem-The clerk will call the roll. Dore.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the Toll

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded. The PRESIDING OFFICER CAT. PROTRIES in the cheer). Without objection, it is so ordered.

SQUECES OF KATTOKAL PRIOR

Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. President effort at the summit has come and to

as some hoped it would not like this we look back on the Pers green events surrounding a I beneve that the American people can be pretti et two things that emerged

First, we have a great severe of pride in our President. In the face of a bullying and scurrilous att .ck by the hader of the forces who will, as long as they exist, make any summit an unposeth list. President Eisenhower maintained a caim dignity and a restraint which is verker man could not have achieved. He proved again that there are in her heart a passion and a desire for people that we have not seen equaled in our lifetime. It was this simple badge of learnsty and decency that accentuated the vieness of Khrushchev's attack, and made clear to the world that the real obstacle to peace is the Soviet Communists-not the Soviet people, but their leaders.

Our second source of price is the schievement of the C.A in the matance of the U-2. Frankly my constence in this Agency was never too high; but this achievement has caused my opinion to-ward it to soar tremendously. Those whose typewriters have been muching through a dark ribbon of gloors relative to our lack of intelligence of our enemy must now be amased at what actually has been going on in this field, as I feel most Americans must be. Our amazement is coupled with pride as we wather the secure feeling that we have been obtaining knowledge of the entary at a rate and of a quality that surpasses our greatest hopes. To the CIA and to the Lockheed Aircraft Co., to the men who flew the U-2, and to their ground crews must so the undying tratifude and respect of the American people. I detect more, by far, of a feeling such as this, than the feeling expressed by others others will would apolegize to the bully; who suggest it was the fault of the United States that the summit felled; who considue to be abraid of the Soviet and would yield West Berlin to the tyare in the complete minority in our land, and that the majority of Americans feel more secure in the knowledge gained by this program; knowledge that makes lies out of much that the Communists and their sympathizers in our land would have us believe; knowledge, for example, that the Soviet cannot as they have boasted, shoot down any aircraft flying over their heartland, recordless of speeds of altitude; knowledge that our deserent force of more than 2,000 bombers, including 1,400 B-47's and 550 E-52's, could fly against their obviously limited air defenses with success; knowledge that, by the same token, our envierbased aircraft could carry out attacks 1,000 miles into the Soviet Union: knowledge that some 1,000 fighter bombers located around the periphery of the Soviet borders could drop stone or TIVE bombs from 800 to 1,000 miles within first country. This is intelligence de-veloped from the fights of the U-2 and from other sources, and it is someting we should be proud of, and not seburged

I sin disturbed that is me of the col-

To me what the CIA has done was some tion-and-answer period be printed in the New institutions, new have distingt on the line was some. thing that had to be done, and it is as integral a part of national defense as the weapon in the hands of a soldier. One of the first tenets of war is to know what your enemy has and what he might do with it. This is what the CIA and the military were trying to do, and what they should always be trying to do. To me this is the duty of the intelligence gathering agencies, and not the business of some committee of Congress. To be sure. it would be a closed-door investigation, but all of us here know that there are hundreds of ways for what goes on behind closed doors to become the property of the press, the radio, the TV, our peo-ple, and, I might add, the Soviets. I am hopeful that those who, in the heat of developments, called for this inquiry will, in the interest of the country, see that it does not proceed. Gathering intelligence of what the other fellow is doing is practiced by business, by labor organizations; yes, even by some husbands and some wives. It is not new. It is not novel. It must go on at the national level, and we, as a branch of our Govern-

1

task which is always a hard one. The President's suggestion, made again last evening on TV, that the United States institute a system of worldwide surveillance so that every country could know what every other country is up to militarily, coincides with a similar one I made on this floor last week. I urge that it be done with any equipment we have, and I hope we will utilize not only surveillance missiles but the B-70, with its 80,000-foot-plus, 2,100mile-an-hour capability.

ment, should not make more difficult a

Today the errors committed are far outweighed by the successes achieved. Instead of carping at our mistakes, we abould forget them and devote our efforts to stimulating a national pride in the two successes we have our President's actions in face of the enemy and our tremendously expanded knowledge of the enemy's abilities schloved through the U-2 the U-2.

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER DELIV-ERS CHALLENGING ADDRESS ON AMERICA'S THIRD CENTURY

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, at a meeting of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia on April 22 Gdv. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, fielivered the first of a series of four addresses on major issues confronting the people of the United States. The title of this address was "The Third Century," its reference being to the fact that the third century of our history as a nation is opening before us.

Governor Rockefeller/reviewed the historical background in which we enter this new century, and he stressed the tremendous area of quallenge that lies before us on this threshold of a new era. before us on this threshold of a new era. In view of the attring nature of this address, of its nignificance in terms of our spiritual growth at a nation, and in terms of our position of hadership responsibility in the world of freezen. I sak maintane to be world at freezen. I tion-and-answer period be printed in the REWINDA

There being no objection, the address and questions and answers were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE THIRD CENTURY—A CONCEPT OF AMERICAN POREIGN POLICY

(By Gov Nelson A. Rockefeller, of New York) In this city so profoundly linked in fact and in memory with the dirth of America, I appeal to history to remind us plainly, as a people, where we stand, for what we stand, where we may fall, where we dare not fall, but must prevail.

I shall state the matter of the moment as gravely as I see it. . It rises from the very history and heritage

and character of the American people, ; As a people, we have cherished and re-spected basic splittual and religious beliefs and values proclaiming the supreme worth of the individual:

and values procusining one supreme was an of the individual:

Our beliefs about individual man have been rooted in the profound and priceless truths of Judalsm and thristianity.

These truths define man as the supreme creature of God. They therefore, proclaim the individual the supremely railuable being on earth, and the rive fulfillment of his destiny the supreme purpose of life itself. No state can decree this fulfillment: God alone could do that. No state can define this destiny; man alone can do that. Brother to all men and the servent of none, the free individual is gifted with a life whose laws and standards and purposes stand above, not beneath, the state.

And the true role of the state, therefore, is to respect and to serve the matchiess dignity of the individual.

Our forefathers in the middle of the 18th century realized that their hopes and aspirations for the fulfillment of man could not be achieved in the political world in which they

schieved in the political would in which they schieved in the political would in which they found themselves.

Hence they moved to the lesteric schievement of creating in the form of the American Nation a political stincture within which this deep bester in the worth of the individual, and these spiritical valued could discurs and fine committee.

This ecitical was destined to hispane the dynamic political forces of associated throughout the world.

These values and beliefs was themselves not national full thrywise.

These values and beliefs was themselves not national full thrywise.

These values and beliefs was themselves these principles have from the propie themselves, these principles have from the security decaded, we as a people have given testimony by our concern for humanity at large.

We have done this in makey and shanging ways: in things religious, through mis-

ways: in things religious through mis-sionaries to distant lands; in things social, through charities and foundations; in things economic, through aid and comfort to, the needy and afficated; in things military, through lives given in defense of freedom. This has been the history and this has been

the nature of our life as a people.

Two centuries after the creative work of our Founding Pathers, the formidable fact is now emerging that these principles of thdi-vidual freedom and individual worth can live and achieve universal application only if we join with other peoples to create larger political structures binding many nations in common pur lose,

If we fall o do this in this mid-20th cen tury, we will risk not merely national per in a conventional sease; we will risk the closth of these values that inggive the strength for human dignity and freedom throughout the word.

The task, then, is gruly more above, according to the strength of the strength

new institutions, new associations of hitlons, that can give all the world the same tangible hope for the realization of freed . 13 tour forefathers gave to a sing a native

In the 18th century, we succeeded as a people because we had a clear sense o purpose and dedication. In the 20th century we have not yet succeeded as a people necessar we have lacked that single less of purpose and dedication—and instead we have improvised.

In the 18th century, we, the American people, had an idea of man that inspired and governed our action and conduct as a ped ple. In the 20th century, we have too rarely, too casually, related our actions to that with the result that our national conduct has been inspired less by our own be-

liefs than by the threats of others.

- In the lifth century, we knew that our idea of min to be realized had to be translated into concrete and specific political forms and institutions. In the 20th century, we have tried largely to substitute mili-itary acts on economic act for the vical and lacking political acts of coation.

The full gravity of our position in the

world today can be summarized in simple questions.

questions.

If it has become possible for Communists to twist and filstort our very ideas of decomporary and freedom and justice—and to exploit these words as it they were their own—is this not plain prof that seenshow we ourselves have failed to give these ideas vital and convincing expression?

If the Communists seem forever ingenious and inventive in promoting chaos, is not their apparent kill at least partly, perhaps largely, a reflection of dur failure to promote

largely, a reflection of dur failure to promote order?

If the Communists have success in araging political and psychological war, is not their success greatly due to our failure to create larger political structures in which freedom tran flourish?

The communism has an appeal to newly emerging people as a way of life bordering on a religion, is it not because we have falled to give content to our concepts of brotherly love and human dignity in our preoccupation with material success?

The communication seems to me as clear as its content.

is cenetal.

We parmot successfully serve the cause of the country with the first century with the first serve the cause of the bold, with dedication less fervant with purpose less clear than in the 18th entury. What is needed to serve the dignity sort freedom of the individual in history netable can hardly be less than what was needed in one nation.

In the revolutionary times through which we pass, we shall be the creators of discumstance or we shall be its victims. And the issue will turn not upon how well we can counter the thrusts and inventions of others but how well we can express said convey pur own conviction.

To carry such conviction on the world

scene demands of us the same two creative achievements of which the American people proved themsel es capable two centuries ago. We must bild our acts to a people it nly to our ides of man, the free individual.

And, working with other peoples and nations, we must branslate this idea into political forms and institutions, so that the idea becomes not only right but also relevant for the lives of free peoples everywhere.

We face in the world a kind of positical wilderness in which the hopes for freed an effective all peoples may be lost.

The scene is more challenging and periods than the wilderness the invariant people of the one of the continues of t

We can do no less that match there and a series that the plotter one again to live the plotter one again to live the plotter one again. e of peace.

Ġ

Approved For Release, 2002/10/30 c. CIA-RDP80B01676R000390030019-2 and an Anno soons bechase of sahu Defense Mobilization for adeligate thin when it this lienerset, "the hippitaleutions of hit has lef-" mecaway project is now in This or appointed about the intresser an encourse desired. Appropriations Here is a pice fiere appropriations. Here is a pice fiere appropriations. Here is a pice fiere appropriations. Here is a pice fiere appropriation. Here is a pice fiere appropriation. Here is a pice fiere appropriation of the safety and should doing any harm what we like the with a cause year. In a cause year and a manager of the safety and without doing any harm what we like the public and without doing any harm what we like the public and without doing any harm what we like the with the safety and should appropriate the safety and should a an anecuous desuctude. appropriations. Here is one place were AV 1 2 c mines in critical bound be stopped M. President the only sopside course of action is to abolish the entire present of action in the place we should depend open leaders of our Armed Posesso Mr. Goldware. Mr. Goldw of the not the state of the s g gradiani American Government be blame for the souls - continued and plane for the souls - continued and plane for the souls of t mission or crrur de la felle de la constitue de la constitue de The street of the street of the street of the in turn on the theory that two aid acts lie President's assumption malife and management with the second of the sponsibility for the 1-2 flights m en statements by him and Mr. He plying that the filghts would continue see where we can really save lax-makers money by forcibly slighting a The Administrator of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization ex-Gov-ernor Hoesh, of lows, served one term 25 f dear ind that the Krem nawa comleft Khrushchev no phote out to break the the summit. This theory, fir its as-sentials, has been adopted by several authorities; by Khrushchev himself of gto react violently in come o ded at the end of his first term, when he people of his state evidently were waster lippmann, who spelled it out in white of first using—belongs to Mr. Walter Lippmann, who spelled it out in white of his state evidently were walter Lippmann, who spelled it out in white of his column 52 days before the simplification has defent the President in his column 52 days before the simplification has proposed him administrator mann is not the architect of a bolicy of C.1 and Defense Mobil' criticism. He is at least its American of a prophet and continuing counselor. preserve its self-respect and it of true that we had the Sove Unit of the responsibility for the phape of the course, by Governor Stevenson, and by a \$12,000-a-year salary. We do not a number of lesser American person-speed to feel sorry because he was de-greed at the end of his first term, when in virtue of first usage—belongs to Mr. Paris talks Not the light Library they follows personales the value of the ment of the me don un motor week. He under he of the sent of the sent of the sent of the Paleco He with the spaper columnists; but this is Company of the state of the sta APPENDED TO THE PERSON OF THE

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE
Approved For Release 2002/10/30: CIA-RDP80B01676R000900030019-2

First Umon. Here are Khrushchev's

We * * resolved fairer the Soviet diswould prevent the United States President from getting out of this embarrassing preer ament. We even declared that the United States President hardly knew or approved of such actions and list evidently the hotheads from the Pentagon and Allen Dulles, this professional spy, they are to blame. But Exenhower did not take advantage of the opportunity granted him. He declared that the spy flights had been approved by him and made with his knowledge. * That is when it became obvious that the purpose of the negressive actions by the United States was to torned the number.

was to torpedo the summit meeting.

Now, it does not follow that because the Lippmann line corresponds with the Union, it is the wrong line. All of the presumptions, however, run strongly in that direction. Especially is this so when, as we shall see, the line is incom-patible with some of the major facts of

the case.

The first fact on which the Lippmann theory runs aground is that it was not the United States but the Soviet Union that made an international incident out to the U-2 episode. The subsequent breakdown of the Paris talks will never be understood unless this initial event is kept clearly in mind that Khrushchev deliberately chose in a fiamboyant speech before the Supreme Soviet on May 5 to publicize the American spy disches and the fact that one of our planes had been soot down. Now let us be ure that we understand the magnitude of this decision which is presented. Strangers environce extraumin mathematical regions of the for which may reproduce A Company of the Comp

panes and been stor down. Now let up the magnification of the magnificat The second secon and the state of t

to me the second of the second

received regargers on

It was "impossible." Lir. Lippmann wrote. "for the Soviet Government to play.down this particular incident." How absurd. Having created the incident Khrushchev quite obviously had no desire to "play it down" until he had achieved the purpose for which he had originally played it up. Khrushchev, above all, is not a frivolous man. We may be sure he did not create an international crisis that involved great damage to his country's prestige and the possible loss of his own power, only to let it die—as Lippmann suggests he would have—by accepting President Eisenhower's disclaimer of responsibility and regrets. Khrushchey had other fish to fry, as his conduct in Paris was soon to make clear.

The second fact that makes trouble for Lippmann's theory is that Khrushchev refused to go ahead with the summiteven after President Eisenhower an nounced the U-2-flights would be dis continued and would not be resumed Before the Paris meeting Lippmann had written that his only criticism was that the President had made spying our "avowed" policy. The further recth mendation—that the President should have apologized—did not find it. way into the Lippmann doctrine until after Khrushchev had demanded an apologi in Paris. It was the avowal that had made it "impossible" for Khrushcher do play down the incident. Well, the Prodent disayowed the policy: I cannot imagine a plainer disayowal than a promise to discontinue a past policy. And still Khrushchev blew up the sim

to prevent these flights. It is therefore with great sorrow that the Soviet Coverament. finds itself unable to accept the U.S statement. How is it possible for a self-respecting power to do so? If the President s not master of his own house what agreement have we that these fights will stop? Forebandite should remain at large Che Soviet Government cannot be satisfied with anyshing less than public exposure, tend and punishment of those who perpetrated these entrageous crimes. We know in the interest of peace the U.S. President will take a tepe to meet his constitutional sufficient and so forth.

Would not Khrushchen have replied inthis rein had Risenhows followed Lepp-mann's advice? The legic of he sit-uation demanded it. Having deliberately created the incident itchrushchev was lcule and scorn. Thank goodness our President and his advisors had the good sense to stand where they did in deed of allowing the situation to determate further.

I repeat: Once It was the hat Rhirushchev was determined to short the plane incident as far as puld, and once it was clear that he was in possession of physical proof that he spy flight took place, nothing could be een more foolhardy than for the head that to have tried to deny ill, or to have tried to deny ill, or to have producted for it.

This brings us to a point with has disturbed many people many it reject the appearance in spect. The brings is to be point with has disturbed many people many it reject the appearance in the bear have been better, it is asked for it. the plane incident as far as an auld,

Lippimann theds: Would it may have been better it is asked for the inited States simply to have remained a lent during Khrushohev' the dealers of the Could we not by that could are avoided compromising the City are avoided compromising the City are avoided to make the City and the City and

which is the control of the control

some these comment Approved restricted by the inever afford to admit he is a spy. The rather than pride in will court, and he may be convicted. But moment he does so, if he is in another compalished. does the President of the United States, m such an instance, so before Congress and wave documents in the air purporthat to prove Abel's guilt, and demand before the world that Khrushchev explain whether he was personally involved. in sending Abel here? Such a performance would, indeed, break the conven-For chiefs of state do not publicly address one another about spy operations-not unless one of them deliberately intends to kick over the traces. But this is precisely what Khrushchev did. It was he who broke the conventions by insisting that the American Government make a public accounting for a spy operation, the proof of which

was already in Soviet hands.
Mr. LONG of Louisians. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I am happy to vield.

Mr. LONG of Louisians. Does the Senator have any doubt in his mind that it is a violation of international law to overfly another country's territory and to systematically photograph for inteleligence purposes?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I have no ques-tion in the world as to that fact. In fact, I have not expressed myself on that

Mr. LONG of Louisiana I Ancurse it is the Senator's answer that he would agree it is a violation of interpational law to conduct spy flights over another nation's territory.

Mr. GOLDWATER, I must assume it is. I do not recall invine seen that written down. That is not the noist to which I am addressing myself.

Mr. LONG of Londsian. The point I.

Mr. LONG of Longians. The point I am getting at follow in speak grant tion. Does the Senator know of any instance in history when the stance in history when the power has created in a series in or gree to the country a series in or gree to the country a series with the country in the countr history, where alterest have being that a similar instance be curred before. Anticipating the Sensator's next question I believe that had such an incident occurred and had the

same type of incidents occurring. Mr. LONG of Louislana. Dock Senator believe that any agent for pspi-onage purposes can be successful if he proceeds to admit things and tell the truth when he is asked any particular given question under all circumstances? Mr. GOLDWATER I would my we would not expect them to have any are would not expect them to have any are consist another fellow knows atmeons in spying or him he is told to the story of second the story of the second to second the second to second the second to second the second that the second to second the second that the second to second the second that the second to second the second the second to second the second the second the second to second the second the

situation been as I have been describ-ing it, we would probably have found the.

moment he does so, if he is in another country's territory, he will be apprehended, and his usefulness will be ended. Mr. GOLDWATER. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Regrettably, spying is against international law, and spying also is an activity which requires that the agent must lie, certainly so long as he is operating where he can be apprehended in some foreign country.

Most major powers do conduct such procedures, but ad lar as I know, when agents are caught they never admit and never confess what they have been do-ing. At times an agent might be tog-tured into confessing, but any confes-alon as a result of torturing, according to our system of law, is not a valid our lession. The Senstor knows that, he not?

Mr. GOLDWATER, I think the recent incdent was a little bit different from the usual Mate Hari type of special who might be picked up in a saleon of a hotel as a result of suspicion. In my State we say that when some

thing has feathers like a duck, fries like duck, and makes a noise like a duck, His a duck. If a U-I plane came down because of engine trouble and tanded on Research soil, any aerodynamic expert who looked at it would pretty well know the purpose for which it was built. If the pameres were intact and we must assume they were intacts and we must assume ther were. I would assume the Russians would have brains enough to say. This is an esplopage plane. It is certainly not a plane engaged in pleasure from over Russia.

History the evidence of the control of the cont

A THE STREET tes acrete enemy troops profits throther to our configuration has ever configuration the ever configuration of the configurat a confession has ever compased or attained if his cheased in actional activities. Ferhaps in rushener thought his case was so strong that we could not set out from maler, but the impression I have gained is that we would have been a lot better off if we had continued to insist this was a flight not situated by anyone not even by the man's hamediate superior, and if we had wanted to investigate appring activities was have knowned to investigate appring activities we have knowned or some greatil in that sort on their part we want to prothat seri on their part we want tent, to be investment also also could both to to trial together.

a position of operating from fear rather than pride in what has been accomplished. As I have said, this is a most unusual case of espionage being found out. Usually the spy disposes of himself. For some reason, that was not done in this instance, and the aircraft. was not destroyed.

We know for certainty that the radar capabilities of Russia are such that for 4 years the Russians must have been tracking these planes across the sides. integine the Russian air forces state defenses were about ready to tear of what hair they had, when they resilie they did not have defensive capabilities of getting these planes down.

They must have known from observe tion that it was not a B-57 or a B-47 this subject that we have capable of subjecting a scient alighty excessing to 5000 feet. The Russians knew 't was of either of those two aircraft because those planet do not have the necessary. meed. I believe they knew all along what we were up to.

I have never believed in the efficacy of spramit conferences, but the instead carried carried an inferiment time for those the paliere in them. The U.2 planes camp down. The Russians knew precisely what our country, was doing we similted it. There is a question as for what the Senator from Louisians would what the Sepator from Louisians would have drift had he been in the mate-of the President, but, as I have recited this is the first time in history that I result is which the Chief of State considered is which the Chief of Blate Counterful spen a question. How improper it would not have seemed to the world of any of our have seemed to the world of any of our providence at the lime of the deficiency of the de e distanting

I rest MOD ton metabos sociales Then the executive to 0. Mars. Yes, this was approximated it. I suthorized it. I seems methias he leaves us in to position to be self-righteous when we plead guilty ME GOLDWATER I AM HOL BOtempting to be saif-righteous - I have had mough experience in the military to day-to-day peaceful military operations: stimus at Yall is knowledged the strong of t

spabilities as we have, if not be the marely operate out the PART OF THE PART O **30 14**

SHRUSHIE IN

As one who knows a little about acrodynamics, I say that if anybody had told me the U-2 airplane was doing what we now know it accomplished, I would liave said. "I doubt it." I do not think it is possible." Now we know it is pos-្ត aible.

I am addressing my remarks today to those who wish to make out of this incident either a political issue—and I am sure the Senator is not one of those—or an issue that can bring weakness to the American people instead of the pride that should be in their hearts. I speak snot necessarily of the pride of spying, because all of us dialite the word. But the fact that we have been able to keep up with the military capabilities of the Soviet and keep ahead of them militarily is a great source of reassurance to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. LONG of Louisiena. So far as I am concerned, I regret we do not have more information with respect to what is going on behind the Iron Curtain. I mindent either a political issue-

am concerned, I regret we do not have more information with respect to what is going on behind the from Curtain. I wish we had more. But I feel that when the decision was made in advance that it and when one of the U-2 planes came down over stiemy territory it would not be admitted to be a soy mission, having made that decision it would have been better to have stayed with it.

Mr. GOIDWATTER Once Khrushchev medical to make approperations a factor in international diplomacy the United States had to assum. That his real purpose in creating the modern was diplomated in creating the modern was diplomated in the modern was discussed in the modern was discussed in the modern was diplomated in the modern was discussed in the modern was discussed in the modern was di

his burn.

Chiral biler. Thereipon decided—make it so, I promise the coming roll compaign will be immersal be in the coming roll compaign will be immersal be in the compaign will be immersal be in the compaign will be immersal be policy right up to its earning the compaign will be immersal be policy right up to its earning the compaign will be immersal be in the compaign will be immersal

to the newspaper of the matter and with the

ute strategy to prevent that defeat, or, if it could not be prevented, to throw sand in the world's eyes so that the defeat would not be recognized or appreciated. Thanks to the steady nerves of our Goyernment at the critical moment, Khrushchev falled in his efforts to pry loose concessions on Berlin.

But Khrushchev's alternate objecthat of diverting attention from the fact his bluff was called—is today close to realization. For far from cele brating our victory, we are cringing fore the criticism and are haunted the doubts of those spiritless creature our midst who ask, plaintively, whe we should have dared to win. Inste of taking to heart the lesson of the pas low weeks, and proclaiming it world, we are ourselves trembling fore it. We cannot quite accept, ow, the moral of the recent order ist firmness pays off.

Is it not time to say that the summi as come and gone, and that there is no shooting, nor any danger of it, and the Berlin remains free?

I do not mean to suggest that victor will always come so easily for the West that we can always avoid shooting. Bu when the happy event occurs, and vouchsafed such a triumph, let us, to heaven's sake, recognize what has hap

I have steadly opposed summir in ings on the grounds that the only

Active Characters to the service of ethe administration was out. ing refused to appears Khroming feel sure he is wrong. I do not hoth parties will nominate who will support the minimum surregreents of firmness that were strated in recent weeks by the salan hower administration. But

Sometimes from unexpected quarters wa are handed a benefit. Hence we often say that "it is an ill wind that blow no good." Milde Effrushchev may be at trised to learn the true consequences of his reckless action in Paris recents, as he was a record, the summit donierence and publicly ir suited the President of the United States

We are, indeed, indee ed to the Foriet Premise for the following consenuences:

If The predulous, naive attituder adopted by various groups among us in their advocacy of summit conferences were revealed as hope. of summit conferences were revoked as nones, being impractical. No longer with weighten to the argument that sheet resident correctly the historie ways of limbories supersock the United Waltons and It average of the United Waltons and It average of the world with nicions which the third of the world with nicions well as the appearance, who have thought shake a the appearance, who have thought shake a pre-appearance with the control of th

the way to get peace is by making soncersion after concession to the enemy have been proved Blogical, misguided, while without perreasive influence.

18. The leaders of thought with his surged that America maintain its string defenses and place its reliance on the maintenance of deterrent strength have been vindicated and will now have an door easing andmence with American public opinion

as it has sought to divide the Western allies.

we ken NATO, and crum a crumbling of morale in the West, have been a loss thwarted. The Western aillance todayshat resoubled strength to has in the military and trains the selection of its cause and in his military and power to deter war.

pened. Let us not fall under the stell to the world has at last he is in many of our American Hamlets. Let ill to unablished facts in the stell body policy of shock for having made a cliff spotonage. The opportunity is this might decision. ad not been detected and en and d by Mr. the facts remaind about

> THE WATER 4 THE R. P. and to a serie to mak dearly me Lod and the selfons Asto aution a line scretch well 10 yr a line selfons our Government. La transport of our Government. La transport our more above say reconstitutes and selfons our more above say recons 100

blation of international in-My have the Soylandalaunces declared Sepritor 7

Attention has been dramation y some ments of firmness that were confidence, ploturetaking from the asset. In 1950 strated in fevent weeks by the salence President Eisenhower made his open lables hower administration. But If an proposal to the Soviet Union as a made proposed wrong, then to the recent from providing "against the possibility of French make it so, I promise the coming political surprise attack." He proposed for the two compaign, will be immersed to the countries give each color a companies.

Countries give each other a car page print of our countries to us able to be able to be applicable or against the interpretation of an applicabilities of against the interpretation. To display was not or hand by the soviet-source and the countries of the countr By Hattracted htps

* * * *

yield.

pulnion on this contingency even though everyone knows the West would not strike the first blow. The world now has had brought forcibly to its attention the vital necessity of preventing or intercepting "surprise attack." The House of Represent or intercepting atives, through one of its appropriation committees, has given formal sanction to such a policy.

10. The outery of the Soviet Government about "aggression" and "spying" must inevitably cause the world to ask when the Soviets will withdraw their agents from Cubs and other Latin-American countries.

Cubs and other Latin-American countries, as well as from Europe, And and Africa, and really cease their "aggression."

11. Last but not least, the Soviet chief tain has asserted a right to tell the American people the kind of administration has wants to see elected in this country in Rowants to wants to see elected in this country in nov vember. Let's grant him that privilege on the condition that the elections be held in the Soviet Union and that our radio messages no longer be jammed as we exercise a similar right to tell the Soviet people whom

similar right to tell the Soviet people whom they shall choose as their ruler.

Yes, we can say, "Thanks, Mr. Khrushchev" for having opened not only our eyes but the eyes of free peoples everywhere to the simple feet that there can be no safety for any country as long as an arbitrary as tocratic regime, with the power to make sudden war, rules in Moscow.

Mr. KRATING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. GOLDWATER. I am happy to

Mr. KEATING, Unfortunately I was absent from the Schafe during the carly Section 1

Fein de serving . P. y . a A A STATE OF THE S

understand
President Plant
fact I share be right
Senator from Arison fiel Plant
Elscahower' in the law the Republican or Democrat must also recognize
this fact, and I am units certain this he
will. Wee betide us if he does not

will. Woe betide ut if he does not Certainly the issue of who best can deal with this problem and who best can seal with the men in the Kremin Khrushchev or his successor is bound to be uppermost in the minds of the American people as they approach the forthcoming

people as they sparced the forthcoming election.

The state of the sta

same subject. While he and I are occasionally—but only rarely, I might sayin disagreement, there is no issue on. which we are more in agreement than the matter of the defense of the United States

My remarks today were addressed not only to the necessity of American leaders recognising this fact, which I fellieve they do and I agree with the San ator from New York when he says that regardless of who the next President hay be, he will lead from strength I am concerned in these remarks today about the efforts being made by some people in this country not purposely to m lead the American people into thinking that we can deal with these tyrants we would call them hoodhims in this country by being nice to them, in the belief that they will frest us as they would want us to treat them. would want us to treat them. At the recent summit meeting even though I do not agree with the idea of running meetings the heads of the American Covernment and all the agencies connected with that incident displayed at mirable courses, and their performance, made me a little prouder of being all American. AL

SECRETARY SEATON APPROVES PADRE ISLAND SEASHORE AREA

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. Picke although Interior Secretary Fred Seato and the administration beyourged Congress to pass an omnibus hill withing for establishment of three national for pass and of the past section of the past sect

to go shead with Padre Island legislation before adjournment.

This is based upon the fact that on this island of over 100 miles of wild undeveloped land, without a single structure on it for more than a hundred miles, it would be cheaper to buy the hand now than later, when it has been developed;

Recently the distinguished and able action of the floring that the same and the same and the floring floring the same and the floring floring the same and the floring the same and the

Personal Person reported that he desperate has no objection to ensert metric out y. 8. 4, provided that it is amended to conform with that portion of the his terior Department's committue propos perisining to Padre Island. As I previpartitioning to reach the Senate and the Interior Committee I am grad to so ascending a partition of the senate and the senate in the senate of the senate o bill and request its early contideration the committee and the Chappens

In his report, Secretary Sector points

And Parkinsated cost of sequences the land for Pidre Material National Sort Safe rat lice.
The Secretary estimates that the ex-

midjures for land acquisition, development and management of Padre bears 100 second year 22160,000; third year 22160,000; third year 22160,000; third year 21200,000; third year 21200,

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE DIRECTOR

Attached is a suggested letter to Senator Goldwater whose complimentary remarks concerning the Agency's participation in the U-2 program are also attached.

S/ John S. Warner
JOHN S. WARNER
Legislative Counsel

2 JUN 1960

(DATE)

FORM NO. 101 REPLACES FORM 10-101 1 AUG 54 WHICH MAY BE USED.

(a7)

25X1

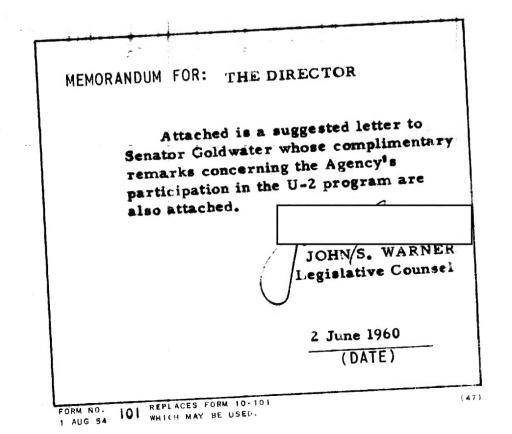
MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Dulles

П

25X1

FORM NO. 101 REPLACES FORM 10-101 (47)
1 AUG 54

FMC 6 June



STAT

STAT

	ASTONOGE OVER	r984864 54-28902/9			0900030019-2
	UNCLASSIF		FIDENTIAL	SECRET	_
,	*C	ENTRAL INTELLIGE	NCE AGENCY		
	OF	FICIAL ROU	TING SLIP		
то	NAME	AND ADDRESS	INITIA	S DATE	1
1	DDCI		ste Ch	6/11	
2				/	
3	ER-	lor danta	ulan		
4					
5		4]
6	<u> </u>]
	ACTION	DIRECT REF	PLY PRE	PARE REPLY	1
	APPROVAL	DISPATCH		OMMENDATION	1
	COMMENT	FILE	RETI		1
	CONCURRENCE	INFORMATIO		ATURE	1
		Senators Gold			
		LD HERE TO RETUR			
	FROM: NA	ME, ADDRESS AND PH		DATE	
		tive Counsel, ERelease 2002/1		l June 6) 00900030019-2

STAT